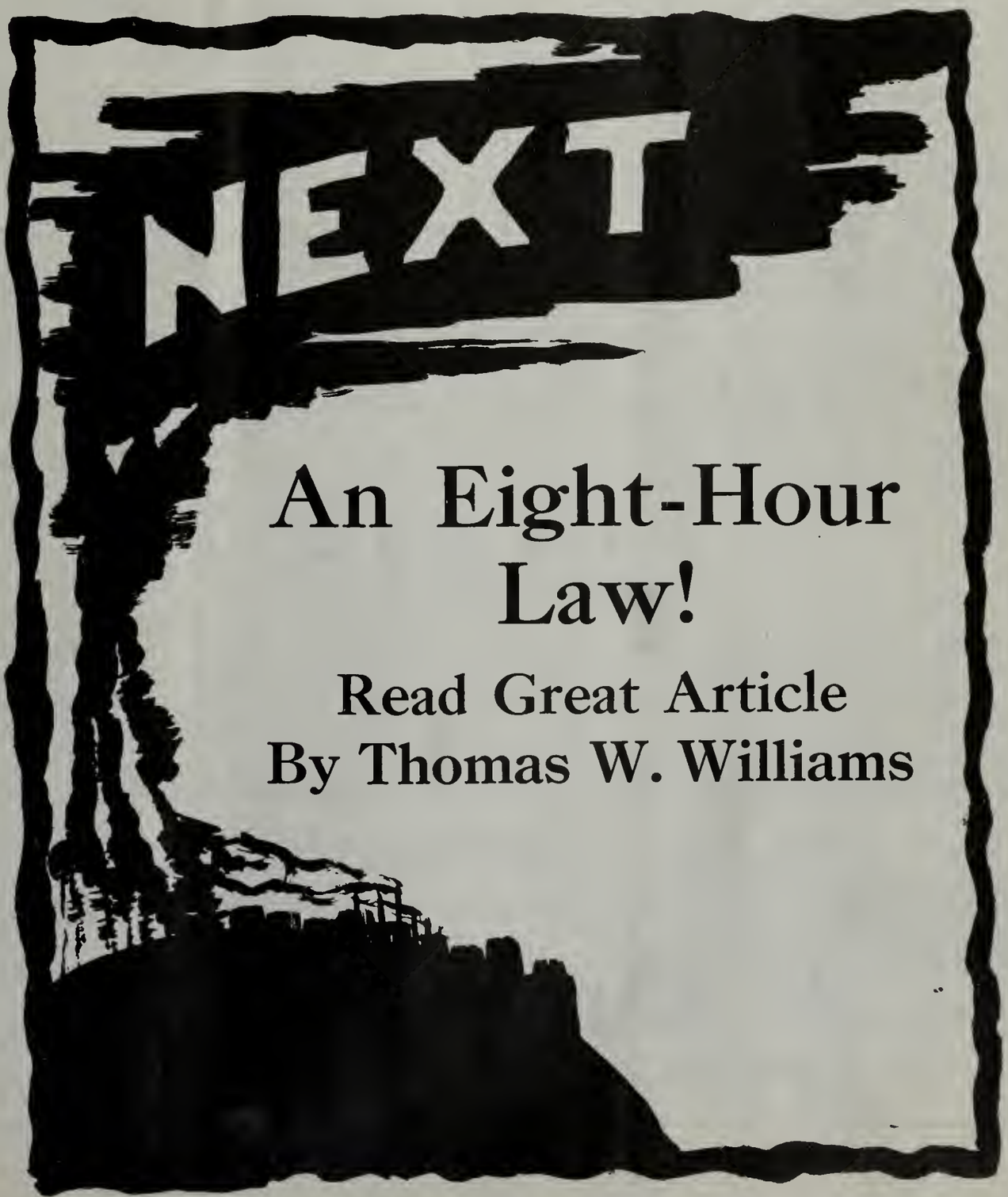
May, 1914 Edited by Emanuel Julius Ten Cents
Vol. 2, No. 1

The Western Comrade



We want Socialists to buy our Union-made products. Union conditions in industries means shorter hours, and shorter hours mean MORE SOCIALISTS.

Men's best quality cotton sox in black, tan or black with white feet, postpaid, 6 pair.....$1
Men's finest quality lisle thread sox in black, tan, ox blood, steel gray or pure white, postpaid, 6 pair $1.50
Ladies' finest quality cotton stockings, black, tan or black with white feet, postpaid, 6 pair.....$1
Ladies' extra heavy cotton stockings, 5 pair.....$1
Children's stockings, postpaid, 6 pair.....$1
Bell brand collars, postpaid, 1 dozen.....$1.50
Men's working shirts, blue chambray, heavy drill khaki, black sateen, each.....50c
Men's fancy negligee shirts, latest styles, each.....$1
Neckties, knitted, 50c values, each.....25c
Garters, for men, women and children, per pair.....25c

Write for catalogue of many other articles.

The company offers $25 in cash to the Socialist Branch or Local whose members have purchased the largest number of Bell Brand Collars—these are the only collars made under union conditions.

The stockholders of this company are all members of the working class.

Mutual Union Trading Co.

Postal Telegraph Building, 9 Board of Trade Court, Chicago, Illinois

You will confer a favor by saying you saw our adv. in the Western Comrade when ordering goods.

YOUNG MEN OF CALIFORNIA

HERE IS YOUR OPPORTUNITY

To prepare for Positions in the Railway Mail Service and Postoffice Department.

Better salaries for Railway Mail Clerks and Postoffice Carriers, Clerks.

Big increase in working force caused by Parcels Post.

See MISS WILSON
602 Citizens' National Bank Bldg., Los Angeles
Office phones: A-1973; Bdwy. 1775
Res. phone: 25951

The best in quality **FOR THE LEAST IN PRICE.** That is the motto that prevails at the clothing store conducted by **W. Hunter & Co.**

When you take $15 to **Hunter's beautiful store,** you will get a suit of clothes that will give you good service.

SUITS *for Men* $15

"**Hurry to Hunter's**" and see what you can get for **only** $15. Remember, you will get a suit that will have efficient workmanship—the kind that gives snap and go to a suit of clothes. At **Hunter's,** you get styles that are absolutely authentic, with the result that your appearance will be dignified and business like. For only $15, you will get the best and most skillful products of the best and highest paid cutters and tailors in the country.

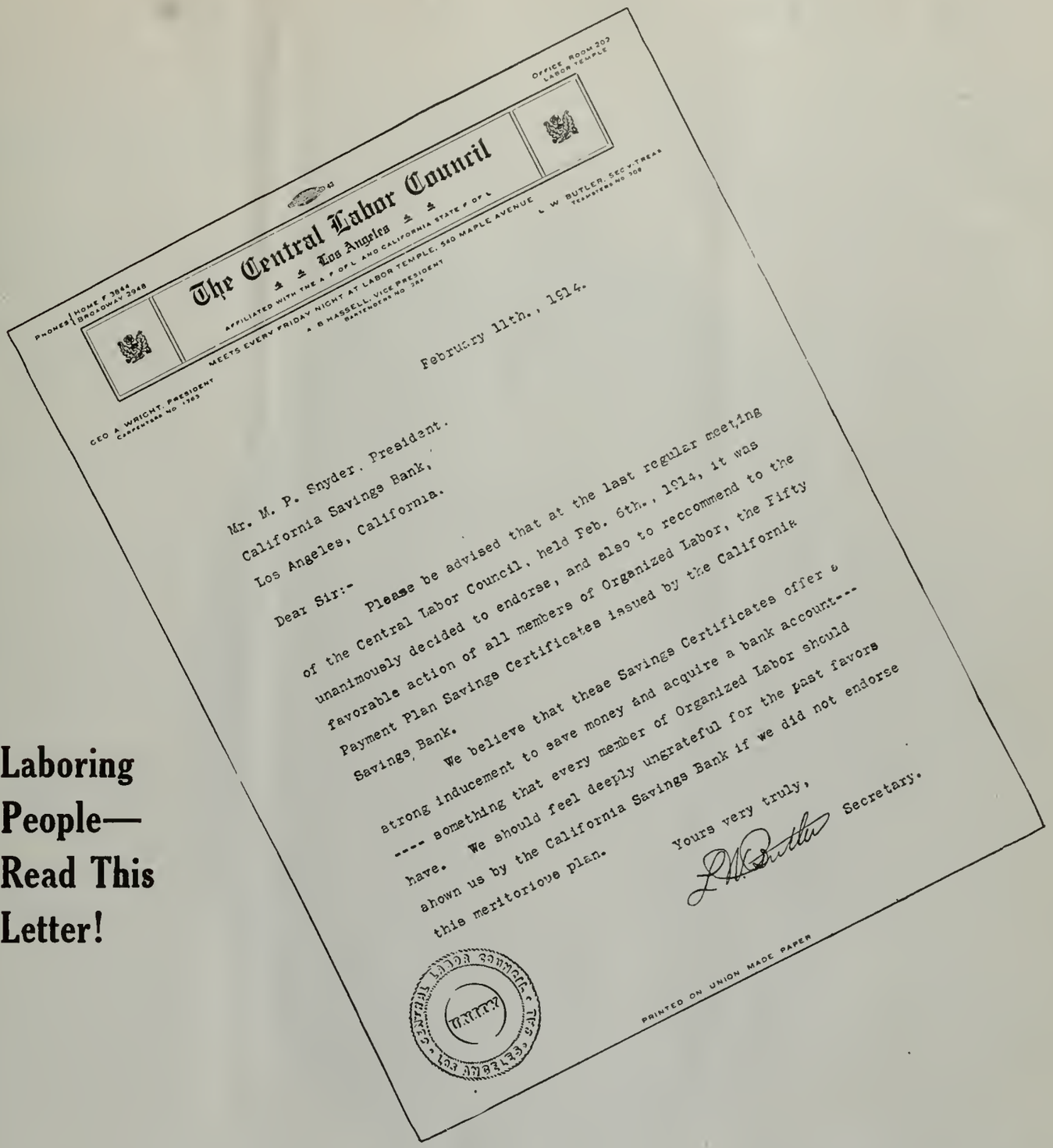
YOU GET YOUR MONEY BACK AT ANY TIME IF YOU ARE NOT SATISFIED.

"WEAR THE BEAR HAT"

It's the best hat in the market; you couldn't find a neater hat anywhere. The **Bear Hat** is the hat you have been looking for. **Ask for it at Hunter's.**

W. Hunter & Co.

540 So. Spring Street, Los Angeles



The Central Labor Council
Los Angeles
AFFILIATED WITH THE A F OF L AND CALIFORNIA STATE F OF L
MEETS EVERY FRIDAY NIGHT AT LABOR TEMPLE, 540 MAPLE AVENUE
PHONES HOME F 3844 BROADWAY 2948
OFFICE ROOM 207 LABOR TEMPLE
GEO A WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
A B HASSELL, VICE PRESIDENT
L W BUTLER, SEC'Y-TREAS

February 11th., 1914.

Mr. M. P. Snyder, President.
California Savings Bank,
Los Angeles, California.

Dear Sir:-

Please be advised that at the last regular meeting of the Central Labor Council, held Feb. 6th., 1914, it was unanimously decided to endorse, and also to reccommend to the favorable action of all members of Organized Labor, the Fifty Payment Plan Savings Certificates issued by the California Savings Bank.

We believe that theae Savings Certificates offer a strong inducement to save money and acquire a bank account--- ---- something that every member of Organized Labor should have. We should feel deeply ungrateful for the past favors ahown us by the California Savings Bank if we did not endorse this meritorious plan.

Yours very truly,
L W Butler Secretary.

PRINTED ON UNION MADE PAPER

Laboring People— Read This Letter!

This Strong Letter Endorses the Saving Certificates Issued by this Bank

$100 Saving Certificates are sold on the easy payment plan of $2 a week for fifty weeks, and the

Bank Makes the First Payment for You

Thousands of these Saving Certificates have been sold the past two months—thousands of people have appreciated the fact that not only are these Certificates a wise investment, but an easy, sure way to save $100.

LABOR MEN—Investigate this plan. Call or write for information.

California Savings Bank

Spring and Fourth Sts.
"A Tower of Strength"

INTO THE LIBRARIES WE GO!

IN the April issue of The Western Comrade we asked for contributions to a Library Fund. Anxious to place The Western Comrade in the reading rooms of 500 libraries, we told our subscribers to decide whether or not this is a goal worth attaining. Judging from the immediate response, we conclude that the comrades are anxious to carry this important work to success.

That the librarians welcome The Western Comrade is proven by the fact that they are writing letters expressing their appreciation of the work being done. The following, signed by M. Louise Hunt, Assistant Librarian of the Public Library of Portland, Oregon, gives one an idea how The Western Comrade is welcomed:

"The April number of The Western Comrade has been received. We shall be very glad, indeed, to keep this magazine on file in our periodical room, and are grateful to you for your courtesy."

This means that for an entire year The Western Comrade will do missionary work for Socialism in a public library that is frequented by thousands of persons. Is this not a work that is truly worth while?

Dr. J. E. Pottenger, of Monrovia, California, responded to our call for contributions to the Library Fund with a check for $25. Through his kindness The Western Comrade has been accepted, for an entire year, in the public libraries of the following cities:

Seattle, Wash.; Portland, Ore.; Boston, Mass.; Pasadena, Cal.; Chicago, Ill.; Bakersfield, Cal.; Exeter, Cal.; San Bernardino, Cal.; Sioux City, Iowa; Kansas City, Mo.; Tacoma, Wash.; San Pedro, Cal.; Beaumont, Cal.; Spokane, Wash.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Hollywood, Cal.; Berkeley, Cal.; Monrovia, Cal.; Fresno, Cal.; Modesto, Cal.; Salem, Ore.; Phoenix, Ariz.; Denver, Col.; Ventura, Cal., and Oakland, Cal.

Dr. John R. Haynes, of Los Angeles, comes forward with a contribution that pays for subscriptions for ten libraries, as follows:

Philadelphia, Pa.; Dallas, Texas; Schenectady, N. Y.; Des Moines, Iowa; Little Rock, Ark.; Bisbee, Ariz.; Eureka, Cal.; Dubuque, Iowa; Galveston, Texas, and Butte, Mont.

Sydney Hillyard, of Paso Robles, pays for the public library at San Francisco, Cal. A. R. Holston, of Los Angeles, helps in the good work by subscribing for Crookston, Minn.

A. N. Luker, Santa Barbara, Cal., writes: "I like your idea of sending The Western Comrade to the public libraries." The library in his city wll get The Western Comrade for an entire year.

Mrs. Mary E. Garbutt, Los Angeles, Cal., enables the library at Turlock, Cal., to place The Western Comrade in its reading room.

Mrs. E. Hildebrand, 2318 East Sixth street, Los Angeles, supplies the wherewithal to place the New York Library on the mailing list, while J. Sherman, 224 Santa Monica boulevard, Santa Monica, Cal., gives The Western Comrade to his home town library. Capay, Yolo County, California, will get The Western Comrade because C. F. Haskell, Cornell, Cal., contributed.

San Diego's Library will be visited regularly by The Western Comrade because Roy L. Terrell, 830 Twelfth street, San Diego, sent a dollar. The Paso Robles Library will entertain an agitator for twelve months for the simple reason that Fred C. Wheeler and Esther Yarnell footed the bill.

E. K. Foster, of Los Angeles, contributed $3, which is enough to pay for sending The Western Comrade to the Congressional Library, Washington, D. C., and the city libraries at St. Paul, Minn., and St. Louis, Mo.

A total of 47 public libraries is on the mailing list of The Western Comrade. We asked for 500. Will YOU help us toward our goal? Will you help swell the library fund? Send a dollar to The Western Comrade, box 135, Los Angeles, Cal. Do it today!

Socialist Progress in Europe

By JOHN KELLER
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

AT the last election in Italy the Socialists polled 822,280 votes, or 20 per cent of a total of 4,380,000 votes.

Thirty-eight representatives to parliament were elected by the Socialists in Bulgaria. Formerly they had but one delegate to the national body.

The Socialist party membership in Switzerland last year advanced from 21,580 to 31,384.

In Sweden, the Socialists now have 64 delegates in the lower and 13 in the upper house of parliament. The membership of the party has increased to 60,000.

Out of a total of 725,171 votes, the Socialists in Finland, at the last election, polled 310,000 votes. They elected 90 members to parliament, 12 of them being women.

Throughout Europe women's participation in the movement is increasing wonderfully. Ten thousand women joined the German Socialist Party last year, according to the annual report.

THOMAS W. WILLIAMS
Secretary of the Socialist Party of California

See his powerful article on page 10

EDITORIAL

PECULIAR WAYS

THE voters—most of them workers—have strange ways. Indeed, they are much like the "Heathen Chinee." Exasperated over the arrogance of Republican politicians—what does he do? Turns to Democratic or Progressive henchmen of the Capitalist class. The Democratic or Progressive official clubs and oppresses him as readily as the Republican. And so, the game goes merrily on! You ask what that has to do with the Chinaman? Let me tell you. When the Mongolian suffers a great wrong at the hands of an enemy, he avenges himself by seating himself on his enemy's doorstep and disemboweling himself!—E. J.

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A BOLD STROKE COMING

WE have grown accustomed to exposures of the corruption of the capitalist press. We are familiar with the pictures of the great gray blanket of advertisements that cover and smother the truth in the capitalist daily and periodical press. But we have not yet faced the situation that exists within our own ranks. Many of the most powerful Socialist publications are filling their columns with disgraceful, if not actually fraudulent, advertisements. If you think that a clean and noble cause demands a clean and free press, read the next issue of The Western Comrade. In that issue will be found an article by Chester M. Wright, dealing with this important subject. It may surprise you; it may leave you with a feeling of shame; but it will also leave you with a determination to do your part in a necessary house cleaning.—E. J.

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UNIONIZING BANK EMPLOYES

PARISIAN bank employes are making strenuous demands for a weekly day of rest, Saturday afternoon off, increased wages, payment for overtime and a shorter workday. More than 21,000 of the Parisian bank employes are enrolled in the union, and, judging from their enthusiasm, will strike if their demands are not granted. This helps prove that because one works (or, rather, slaves) in a bank, a person does not cease to be a member of the working class. However, American bank clerks still appear to be under the impression that they are potential capitalists, destined, in the very near future, to occupy the seats of the money lords. Poor souls! Let's hope they will wake up soon!—E. J.

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OUR REJECTED FEAST

IF a criticism which has nothing to do with Socialism may be permitted, why are so many who live in the very midst of climatic luxury so averse to a complete enjoyment of that luxury? Thousands of Californians shut fresh air out of their homes as though it contained the germs of a plague. Why is this? Why deny to our lungs that which they crave?

In California closed windows at night should be unheard of. That should be true of every climate, but especially true of California. Here it entails not even inconvenience.

There are two things to be had from open air—a state of mind and a state of health. Perhaps these are not two things at all, but let us call them so. And that state of mind and health that comes from constant life and sleep in the open air is, in the absence of contrary overwhelming influences, inspiring, bouyant, conducive to self-reliance and wholly to be desired. Knock the walls out of your sleeping quarters if you can. If you can't do that, at least open the windows wide. Clear brains and clear eyes are assets to any cause.—C. M. W.

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OUR LIBRARY FUND

HERE is what C. E. McLenegan, librarian of the Milwaukee Public Library, writes: In reply to your letter saying that you have sent us The Western Comrade, I beg to say that we shall be happy to place it in our reading room, as you request.

This is but one of the many letters we have received from librarians, showing conclusively that it is very easy to get a Socialist magazine like The Western Comrade into public libraries.

Readers who desire to help in this good work should contribute to the Library Fund. There are 200 libraries in California that are open to The Western Comrade. Why shouldn't we use them?—E. J.

IT HAPPENED IN ITALY

THROUGH reliable sources, the report reaches here that in Italy the feminists have allied themselves with the Socialist Party, because, as the report puts it, "of the recognition of the fact that the Socialists (of Italy) are carrying on a more effective fight for women suffrage than the feminists are able to conduct by themselves."

The Italian suffragists helped, in no mean degree, to send 80 Socialists deputies to parliament, where they are pledged to fight for the extended franchise.

This co-operation will bring great results to both the feminists and the Socialists, for while the feminists have a noble cause, they lack organization. The Socialists, whatever their shortcomings on the woman question, appreciate the value of organization.

In Italy the Socialists do not say: "You women are all right, but wait until we get Socialism and then you will get what you want." Women who want economic independence, the right to enter all professions and trades, equal pay for equal work, political rights and participation in the enactment of laws, do not want to be told that all will be made perfect by the men when the men are free; they are firm in their demand for the right to break their chains here and now.—E. J.

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HYPOCRITES

BEN TILLETT, the English labor leader, recently said: "The Church makes an awful fuss because a French comedienne powders her legs on the stage, but never says anything about the thousands of women in Dublin who haven't enough money even to dress their legs." This applies in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, as well as Dublin. Pulpiteers will rave against split skirts, but say nothing when faced with the real problems of modern life.—E. J.

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POLITICAL POWER

THE value of political power has been nowhere more forcibly demonstrated than in the great Colorado and Michigan strike fields during the few months just passed. The great force that has beaten upon these great armies of strikers has been an armed force directed by political power.

Police and soldiers operate under direction of those vested with political authority. Even hired thugs and private detectives operate, if not under political authority, at least by sufferance of those who have political power.

If the governors of Colorado and Michigan had been Socialists—which means representatives of the working class—there would not have been the disgraceful, criminal butchery that has disgraced those two states. Can you imagine Comrade John Brown, governor of Colorado, sending state troops to Trinidad to shoot down striking union men? Or putting Mother Jones in jail?—C. M. W.

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AT TOP SPEED

THE speeding up craze has left scarcely a phase of life untouched. A typewriter company has this line in one of its big national advertisements:

"It speeds up the human workers, improves their output and cuts the cost."

Oh, for a rest from this driving age! But no, there is no rest; there can be none now—the machine "speeds up the human workers" and we **have to** keep up with the machine. A race owned and driven by levers and wheels and pulleys and belts, all running like mad! Inspiring, isn't it?—C. M. W.

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FRENCH SYNDICALISTS

JOHN A. DYCHE, editor of The Ladies Garment Worker, tells of a visit to the office of La Bataille Syndicaliste, the organ of French revolutionary syndicalism. After studying the situation, he says that "the syndicalists proper, or the revolutionary unions, in France have no permanent organization. They are represented by a group of able and some of them very honest and otherwise, journalists and orators, who in time of trouble and controversies, or strikes, will jump in and create a movement which may continue for a while until it subsides. Their newspapers are read because of the ability and brilliancy of the contributors, more than for any other reason. Mr. Monnet is the ablest of them all, who can always command an audience.

"These gentlemen here will talk to you a good deal on Labor and Labor Problems," Dyche quotes a friend, "but they know no more about the labor question than the man in the moon, and, I believe, they do not care to know. They have never been

inside of a shop, and, in fact, are not interested in the labor problem in its real form. They are a set of brilliant dilettanti, who have a theoretical and an emotional interest in any revolutionary movement, which they are pleased to call the Labor Movement."

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PINCHON ENTHUSES LABOR

THE Los Angeles Central Labor Council recently gave its platform to Edgcumb Pinchon, a Western Comrade contributor. He briefly explained the principles of organic co-operation, telling how organized labor, by using its funds in a constructive manner, could, in time, bring about an industrial democracy.

Pinchon showed that labor has permitted the capiatlist class to use its own funds to break strikes, continue lockouts and in every conceivable manner keep the producers in a position of industrial slavery.

The delegates were never more enthusiastic. They applauded liberally as Pinchon drove home his facts and conclusions. Lots of things have begun in California. It looks as though organic co-operation will materialize right here in the Golden State.—E. J.

♣ ♣ ♣

POSTOFFICE TYRANNY

THE U. S. Postoffice Department has been gradually taking to itself powers that will eventually become a serious menace to freedom of expression. The New York postmaster didn't care for the cover on The International—"beauty unadorned" was offensive to this paragon of virtue, so he ordered the magazine thrown out of the mails. The editor then desired to blot out the lady and add this on the magazine cover: "Censored by the Postoffice," but the postmaster said he would not permit this.

To quote George Sylvester Viereck, we have introduced a new crime into the statute books — the lese majeste of the Postoffice Department. Only after the covers had been torn off would the postoffice bureaucrats permit the magazine to go through. This leads Mr. Leonard D. Abbott to say: I object, in the strongest possible fashion, to being told by postoffice officials what I shall or shall not like in the matter of pictorial art.

William Marion Reedy, in the Mirror (St. Louis), puts it this way: We hear a lot about the New Freedom these days. All very well, but there's a lot of Russianization in progress in the Postoffice Department. Mr .Reedy then delivers himself of this wallop: And it is carried on by men whose minds, to judge by the things they condemn, must be screaming vortices of lutescent lubricity! Surely the postoffice cannot survive this solar plexus. "Screaming vortices of lutescent lubricity." I don't know what it means, but it's an awful harsh thing to say.—E. J.

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JOHANSSEN'S LAUGH

WEARING Labor Party colors, sporting a red flag, using the word "scab" and "blackleg" are punishable offenses in South Africa, according to the International News Letter. A man got two pounds or fourteen days for looking "sneeringly" at a policeman! There is no limit to the audacity of the labor-hating forces. They go to any extreme to "get" the workers who dare questions the authority of the exploiters of the producers.

Some weeks ago Anton Johanssen, of the California Building Trades, told us how, on one occasion, he upset the dignity of an entire capitalist court. He didn't know how to express his contempt for the capitalistic henchmen, except by giving vent to a loud, long laugh. Anyone who knows Johanssen knows what that means, for that amiable labor official has the loudest, hair-raising laugh one could hope to hear in a century. His "haw-haw" is a wonder, awe-inspiring, volcanic.

And when the jurymen, the prosecutors and others heard that thunderstorm, they soon reached the conclusion that Brother Johanssen is a criminal. For a half hour they examined volumes of law; they searched and searched, but finally they had to confess that there is no law against a man being happy! —E. J.

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U. S.—RAILROAD BUILDER!

BEFORE long there will be a governmentally-owned railroad in Alaska. Built by the people, it will be operated by the people. And when the people capture the government from the powers of capital, the railroads will be operated for the people. If it is right and practicable for the government to build and operate a railroad in Alaska, then Uncle Sam should take over the Southern Pacific, the Santa

Fe, the Great Northwestern, the Pennsylvania and the New York Central railroads.

It won't be more than five years before the people will grow tired of having a handful of capitalists owning the railroads. They will force the government to step in and become the owner of the railroads. When the working people, through their government, become the owners of the means of wealth production and distribution, and when those utilities are operated by and for the people in a sane, civilized, democratic manner, for use instead of profit—then, why, to be sure, we shall have Socialism!

Government ownership isn't Socialism, but it is a long step toward it. It is easier to democratize the industries after they have been taken over by the government, especially when we have the ballot to direct the policies of our government. Realizing that Socialism will come as an evolutionary growth rather than by a cataclysmic revolution, we can gain our end better by encouraging government ownership with a view toward capturing the government for use by the workers themselves. This is expedient, if nothing else. Hair splitters will find many objections to this, but the fact remains that common sense will get us more than a stubborn determination to take unto ourselves a shattered cranium.—E. J.

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THE CZAR'S TOOL

CANADA, at this time, seems anxious to truckle to the Czar. In order to pass the Canadian Immigration Authorities it is necessary for Russian Emigrants to be provided with a passport from the Russian Government. Imagine a political refugee, after a dangerous fight for liberty and justice, returning to the Czar and asking that gentle, Christian philanthropist for a passport.—E. J.

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DUKES A DOLLAR A THROW

MUCH of the glamor that hovers over titled heads is disappearing in the midst of unsavory revelations being made by British newspapers and by British peers as well. It seems that Tammany Hall methods have crept across the waters and that titles are handed out to those who "come across" in liberal fashion to the campaign funds in times of political stress. The London Times complains that "far too many honors are unquestionably the outcome of an indefensible cash transaction. * * *" Of course, this peeves those who have not thus gained their titles, because it tends to lower—if that is possible—the worth of titles. If everybody can have one, what's the use? This will be sad news to our American heiresses, but since most of us are not heiresses the ripple that excites Atlantic City and Palm Beach probably will not get very far inland. Perhaps all this may be of slight interest to Marxians, but, even so, why shouldn't we have our little look in on the doings of the dukes now and again? Why not, for sure? And then, again, it may serve to remind us that the American senate and the Chicago stock yards are not the only rotten places in the world, anyhow. —C. M. W.

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CHURCH AND LABOR

ONCE upon a time the maximus pontificus was the master bridge builder. Today he is a pope. Once upon a time the deacon was a waiter at the communal table of the labor union. Today he is as likely to be the head of a trust. Once upon a time the disciples of Christ were labor union members. Today they may be the worst labor haters in the land. And while Solomon's Temple was built by union labor we are not always so sure about what sort of labor builds all the temples today. Yes, the world moves!—C. M. W.

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WILL YOU BOOST?

THE WESTERN COMRADE is meeting with enthusiastic welcome wherever it goes. Many letters come to this office, and most bear the information that The Western Comrade is "just the thing" the comrades have been waiting for. But this magazine must have something more substantial than praise. The best way to show your appreciation is by going to your friends and getting them to subscribe for The Western Comrade. Will you make it a point to get The Western Comrade a few more readers? Show this issue to your friends—they will subscribe.—E. J.

Next—An Eight-Hour Law!

By THOMAS W. WILLIAMS

ALIFORNIA INVITES THE WORLD!" This state is looking forward to a great exposition, in celebration of the opening of the Panama Canal, and the ushering in of a new era in industry and commerce for the Pacific Coast. We are about to play the host at a gathering of the nations—a spectacular world event.

In another sense, also, California invites the world. The ignorant, the downtrodden, the unorganized, helpless, unsuspecting poor of the world, California invites!

It will mean business, industries, profits, power! It will mean long hours, low wages, tenements, slums, sickness, crime! California is waiting.

Although still an agricultural state, California already has its battlefields in the labor war. Los Angeles witnessed the struggle of the machinists for higher wages and a shorter workday in 1910; also, the brewery workers' magnificent victory in the same year. The long conflict between the carmen and traction companies of San Francisco, with its deeds of violence and brutality by tools of the corporations, is not forgotten. Scarcely a year ago came the electrical workers' strike; and fresh in our memories is the red field at Wheatland!

Labor's struggle the world over, from the early days of the wage system to the present, has been largely a struggle for shorter hours of work—shorter hours to conserve health, shorter hours in the interests of the home, shorter hours to preserve the happiness and well-being of society. England, Australia, New Zealand, Germany, France and the United States—all have had their working class movements for a shorter work day, dating back to the latter part of the eighteenth century, when the hours of labor were practically unlimited.

In California Organized Labor has been making an heroic fight for shorter hours, and the fact that skilled labor in this state now enjoys an eight hour day is due to this concerted action on the part of the workers.

Hence, it is not without anxiety, not without some fear, that Labor in California awaits the arrival of that army of strange workers who will come to us through the Canal. These people are accustomed to a coarse and meager diet, with hovels for dwellings, and hours of work that have practically no limit.

This is the prime reason for the effort now being made in California to insure the permanency of the eight-hour day by legislative enactment. This has already been done for women in all but one or two occupations.

Early in 1913, Assemblyman C. W. Kingsley, the only Socialist in the legislature, introduced a bill providing for a universal eight-hour day. The Socialist Party, through its organ, the California Social-Democrat, called upon the workers to petition the legislature to pass the Kingsley bill. The result was a petition three-fourths of a mile in length, and containing some seventy-five thousand names. This was presented by Kingsley in the assembly. The vote on the measure was 30 for and 37 against.

In the meantime a bill was prepared within the Socialist Party for initiation by the people. Petitions were circulated, and by the close of 1913 the requisite number of names had been secured to place the measure on the ballot at the coming election.

Here is the bill:

An act to amend the penal code by adding a new section thereto, to be numbered 393½, limiting the hours of labor of employes and providing a penalty for violation of the provisions of this act.

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

Hours of Labor

"Any employer who shall require or permit, or who shall suffer or permit any overseer, superintendent, foreman, or other agent of such employer, to require or permit any person in his employ to work more than eight hours in one day, or more than forty-eight hours in one week, except in case of extraordinary emergency caused by fire, flood, or danger to life or property, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not less than $50 or more than $500, or imprisoned in the county jail not less than 10 nor more than 90 days, or both so fined and imprisoned."

Already the fight is on! The Merchants and Manufacturers' Association and corporations of California have combined in a vigorous campaign to defeat the measure. The attacks on the bill fall naturally into two main arguments, one representing the business and the other farming interests of the state.

"Business in the state of California cannot be conducted profitably in competition with the East on an eight-hour basis." This is the statement of a banker which appears on a poster now being distributed by the corporations. It is representative of commerce and industry throughout the state. The history of the eight-hour law in other states and abroad, however, does not vindicate his statement.

In 1874-1880, legislation was enacted in the state of Massachusetts limiting the hours of women and

minors to ten hours per day, or sixty hours per week. The manufacturers of Massachusetts then said they were unable to compete with manufacturers in New York and other states with employes working eleven and a half hours per day. They succeeded in securing an investigation on this point by the State Bureau of Statistics of Labor. Carroll D. Wright was then at the head of that bureau. His report stated that "Massachusetts with ten hours produces as much per man or per loom or per spindle, equal grades being considered, as other states with eleven and more hours." Bliss' Encyclopedia of Social Reform states: "In 1870, four years before the enactment of the ten-hour law, Massachusetts had 39.5 per cent of all the cotton spindles in the North Atlantic states; six years after the passage of that law Massachusetts' proportion was forty-five per cent. It is difficult to see what clearer proof could be demanded of the beneficial results of the Massachusetts short hour laws."

Mather and Platt, of Balford, England, are among the largest manufacturers of machinery in Great Britain, employing 1200 men. A few years ago they reduced their working hours from fifty-three to forty-eight per week, with so little diminution in the output of their factory that the British government decided to make a like reduction in the royal arsenals.

Henry Ford, who recently reduced the hours in his immense automobile factory from nine to eight, is quoted: "Our men are doing as much work now in eight hours as they did before in nine. In the motor assembling department the men were turning out eighty-five motors an hour when they were working a nine-hour day; since we changed to eight hours, those same men, without any change in numbers or methods, have been assembling one hundred and five motors an hour."

Professor Clark, of Columbia University, sums up the question for the employer of labor very truthfully in these words: "If you want a man to work for you one day, and one day only, and secure the greatest possible amount of work which he is capable of performing, you must make him work twenty-four hours. If you would have him work a week, it will be necessary to reduce the time to twenty hours a day; if you want him to work for a month, a still further reduction to eighteen hours a day. For the year, fifteen hours a day will do; for several years, ten hours. But if you wish to get the most out of a man for a working lifetime, you will have to reduce his hours of labor to eight each day."

Industry will not be paralyzed if the eight-hour law is carried. Skilled labor in California has already been operating on an eight-hour basis for several years; women have been working but eight hours for three years. And California's industries are still growing. Undoubtedly employers of labor in this state hope to do away with the eight-hour day in many industries when the Panama Canal is opened and the labor market is flooded with the immigrants from Southern Europe. The eight-hour law would make it impossible for them to manipulate the labor market in this fashion it is true, but the working class of California need not look to see Big Business "fold their tents like the Arabs" and steal away to other states, leaving them jobless.

From the farming districts comes a pronounced opposition to the bill. "The passage of the eight-hour law will drive us out of business," wails a rancher. "Shall we have to sub-let to the Japs?" And a fruit-grower adds, "There is no power possible to hold back the maturing of fruit and vegetables from 5 p. m. Saturday until 8 a. m. Monday. How are we going to harvest if the eight-hour law is passed?"

Perhaps the cigar manufacturers of the country could tell them what they could do in such a contingency. The Cigar Makers' Union has no overtime. When there is more work than can be done by the regular number of men in forty-eight hours per week, they are compelled to hire more men. If it is necessary that fruit be harvested every day in the week, they will be compelled in the height of the season to hire more men, and to arrange shifts so that each man may have one day off each week. And if the fruit grower in the state of California cannot stand the additional financial burden imposed, let him remember that it is not because he is paying so much for labor, but because the middlemen and the railroads are charging him extortionate prices for their services. The farm laborer has borne the brunt of this gouge too long, in low pay and long hours.

As to selling out to the Japs, it is because the Japs are willing to work long hours that they are able to underbid the ranch owner as well as the farm laborer. The universal eight-hour law will aid both owner and laborer in this respect.

The hospitals, too, have entered a protest on behalf of their profits. "It is impossible to regulate sickness," they assert. "Therefore it is impossible to regulate to the eight-hour basis." They offered the same objection to the extension of the eight-hour law for women to include nurses; but that extension of the law went into effect, and the hospitals KNOW that they can regulate to the eight-hour basis, to the benefit of the patient as well as the nurse.

There is one more argument against it, namely, it includes domestic servants, and the household routine in many families will be disturbed if someone is not on duty all the time to minister to the family needs. "Shall the household have their breakfast at 8 a. m.?" is the indignant query, "and their dinner before 5

(Continued on page 24)

BRAINS!

By Sydney Hillyard
Paso Robles, California

A SUCCESSFUL young business man was discussing, the other day, the kind of brains which it took to be a successful young business man.

It appeared from his account to require a very peculiar and very exalted type of brains, and many of them. All persons not naturally endowed with these were of unworthy intellectual timber and perenially open to the condemnation which must fall upon the life and efforts of all whose cranial cells are not of the ultra-gray.

Not only this, but it seemed that those who possess the cell, fibre, fissure and convolution of the commercial brain were omnisciently ordained to the judgment seat, for the reason that they are able to do all of the things which common humanity can do, whereas it seems that common humanity can in no wise do the things which the commercial brain can do—nor can even understand how they are done!

It is refreshing to turn from this swansong of the financial glee club to the byways of real life.

In a little old country school a little old country teacher is handling a class of beginners in reading. It is astonishing to note, as we sit at the back and watch her, how many tricks the lady has at her finger ends looking toward the furthering of this prodigious accomplishment. This little person has to teach written language to the human consciousness, and at the same moment she has to wrestle with thirty children of other grades, each one of which is a separate psychological phenomenon.

Could our real estate brokers, our traveling salesmen, our bucket shop operators placed in the little old teacher's chair do any better?

Here is a small farmer on an irrigated patch of land. He must know how to farm, how to irrigate, how to market crops. Here is a machinist working with greasy hand in a garage. He must know an old trade and a new one and be picking up fresh knowledge of both every day. Such men as these must use the **constructive** side of their brains all day long, and yet they are despised by these brothers of the market who never use anything but the **competitive** side.

And there is the difference! This business brain of which we hear so much does not differ in its quality, but in its use. It is used to fight other men's brains. The brain of teacher, machinist and farmer is used to fight inert nature and make her respond. Which does the greater work?

And now comes an issue of the "Metropolitan" with a most profoundly interesting article on co-operation in Denmark.

This little country has been changed from a condition of medieval beggarliness to one of widespread affluence, an affluence which is reaching to every peasant in the field. Denmark is a barren rock with a dense population, and yet abject poverty is unknown. To what super-gray matter in what business brain does Denmark owe this? Who was he?

Turning to the article we are struck to notice that no man's name appears at all!

What? No great giant financial intellect behind all this commercial success?

Apparently, no! No brain behind this transcendant metamorphosis but the despised headpiece of the man with the hoe! While in this whole article no man's name is mentioned at all, yet this peasant union has blotted out half a dozen malignant trusts which were **organized and operated by the mercantile super-brain.**

Denmark might be called the only really successful nation in Europe; it is rapidly becoming a co-operative commonweal; but it has become what it is, with the opposition of, and in no case with the aid of, the shrewd Threadneedle Street and Wall Street brain. It could very definitely be asserted that there has never lived a business man whose so-called genius could ever have produced such a result in the face of such apparently insuperable barriers.

All that the shrewd brain does is to stuff money into purse. It creates nothing. It really wins nothing.

By a mysterious system the laborer is despoiled of most of his product. This product goes to a few tricksters who control the system.

The tricksters fight or gamble with each other to see who shall inherit the earth. The winning trickster is your friend with the ultra-gray brain cells. The laboring class that produced the spoil is simply an also-ran.

How much better, how much more intelligent, we shall be when our business men rise to the status of the co-operating Danish peasant! It isn't a question of how can a swelled head produce a swelled pocket, but of how can we all forget the size of our heads in the general service of the human race. The Danish field laborer is showing the road; all that the modern successful young business man has to do is to walk in it.

The New Factor in the Class Struggle

Organic Co-operation

By EDGCUMB PINCHON

THE concluding sentence of the last article, "There is but one system by which Labor's funds can be conserved to Labor's use and ultimate emancipation —a system perfected to the hand of Labor by Centralized Capitalism itself," is the keynote of the present chapter. In a later chapter I propose to show that all existing co-operative "schemes" are the sheerest puerilities from the point of view of modern effective business organization—mere toys beside the splendid mechanism of the Capitalist system itself, and that these "schemes" are not only not helpful to the highest interests of the working class, but are positively detrimental to its advance; that they are not only not revolutionary, but are insidiously reactionary, and utterly without promise for the future.

For the present I propose to show that, whether we like it or not, the splendid mechanism of Capitalism itself is not only the most efficient we could possibly conceive as a means of socializing production and distribution, but is the only one that we possibly can use, and that this mechanism now used for private ends may be, and inevitably must be, collectively used for Labor's ends with the most astonishing and revolutionary result, culminating, in fact, in the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth by the almost automatic action of working class productive effort, independent of education and theory.

This adaptation of the mechanism of Centralized Capitalism to the collective use of the organized working class constitutes what I have termed "Organic Co-operation" as fundamentally and unalterably opposed to the various "inorganic" co-operative "schemes" at present encumbering working class revolutionary effort.

This mechanism of Centralized Capitalism consists of the Bank, the Funding Company and the Funding Company's Subsidiary Corporations.

Speaking in general terms, the Capitalist class, by means of the Banks, Savings Banks and Trust Companies concentrates and conserves to its own use the cash capital of society. And it is worthy of emphasis that the larger part of this **cash** capital of society is composed of the savings deposits and insurance premiums of the working class, to say nothing of over $60,000,000 of Union funds. Thus, the Capitalist class has the monopoly not only of that **fixed capital,** which is Unpaid Wages, but has also the monopoly of that **operating capital,** which is Unused Wages. It is with this latter monopoly that I propose to deal here.

The group of international financiers usually referred to as the Money Power, who own and control the Banks, also own and control Funding Companies which operate on the funds supplied by these Banks. The function of these Funding Companies is to inaugurate, finance and develop a series of Subsidiary Corporations in all branches of industry, and to conserve the profits of these Subsidiary Corporations for the founding of yet new Subsidiary Corporations, and thus for the further exploitation of Labor. Standard Oil, for instance, owns and controls chains of Banks financing chains of Funding Companies, which in turn own and operate chains of Subsidiary Corporations, and these Subsidiary Corporations, whose profits accrue to Standard Oil, are engaged under fictitious names in every industry known to man. **Imagine for a moment that for "Standard Oil" we have "Organized Labor" employing its own organized members with its own organized capital, and you have, in brief, the Organic Co-operation of the future.**

As a mechanism of collective production this mechanism is practically perfect; as a weapon of class oppression it is unparalleled in history. Our quarrel is not with the mechanism as such, but with its class ownership. The same mechanism used to a social end by the organized working class would be no longer a weapon of oppression unparalleled in history, but a weapon of working class emancipation unparalleled in history.

How could such a mechanism as the Bank, Funding Company and Subsidiary Corporation be used to a social end by the organized working class? The answer must be obvious to every thinking mind.

Capital in lands, machinery and buildings, i. e. **fixed** capital, lies today totally in the hands of the Capitalist class, but cash capital, i. e. **operating** capital, lies to a vast extent in the hands of the working class itself. To quote from the previous chapter on this point: "Today, in Germany, the deposits of the working class, considered alone, total, according to the official figures, no less than $225,000,000. If the figures for the United States were available, it is safe to assert that, in view of the higher wage scale of this country, the figure representing the total amount of working class deposits in the savings banks would be even more impressive. In addition to these enormous deposit funds of the workers in general, there are, according to Carl Legien, of the International Secretariat of

Berlin, over $60,000,000 representing union funds on deposit in the capitalist banks of the world. Again, in Germany alone, the working class holds an interest of $550,000,000 in the government insurance reserve, and an additional $4,500,000,000 in private insurance companies. And since the prosperity of the working class in Germany is no greater than the prosperity of the working class in England, France, Scandinavia and Italy, and less than the prosperity of the working class in the United States, it is safe to assert that the working class of these countries, in deposits, in union funds and in insurance, owns literally tens of billions of dollars of **operating capital.** And even if we consider the organized working class apart from the working class as a whole, it is self-evident that **its financial power is a tremendous reality.**

Obviously, therefore, the first step to be taken by Organized Labor in adapting the mechanism of Centralized Capitalism to its own use is the founding of a Labor Bank* for the conservation of these vast funds.

Such a Bank will act in two ways. It will withdraw from the Capitalist banks a vast operating capital, and to that extent begin, and continue, to drain the very life-blood of Capitalism at its source; it will conserve this vast operating capital to Labor's own business of self-emancipation.

As far back as September, 1912, I made the assertion that the dominant fact in the world of Labor within the next five years would be the Labor Bank of America. And as I write this chapter (March, 1914) there lies before me the report of the recent convention of the Bricklayers' Masons' and Plasterers' International Union. That report, and I say it with profound conviction, is the most important document in modern history. For in its pages it is recorded that, by unanimous vote of the delegates to that convention, a resolution was carried **instructing the Executive Board to proceed to the establishment of a Labor Bank.** Honor to the B. M. & P. I. U. It has given the world the Magna Charta of all future civilization!

I now cheerfully relinquish the task of proving the necessity of a Labor Bank, and of prophesying its ultimate appearance, and rest on the fact that such a Bank **is here**, born in due season out of economic conditions ripe for its birth and nourishment.

Thus, again and with absolute confidence I assert: The dominant fact in the world of Labor within the next three years will be the Labor Bank of America. And by its inevitable operation, by its own efforts at self-preservation as a business institution, it will bring us into the borders of the Co-operative Commonwealth within ten years.

In my next chapter I shall endeavor to prove this seemingly bold assertion from a purely **business** standpoint, and independently of any social theory or ideal.

*In a later chapter I shall show that this Bank will take the form of a Trust Company as a matter of business expediency.

We Are Forcing Better Laws

By PATSY O'BANG

SOCIALISTS have long maintained that the best way to force the Capitalist law makers (Republicans, Democrats and Progressives) to pass measures favorable to the workers is by organizing for the purpose of demanding the complete surrender of the Capitalist class. In other words, demand the earth —and the sun, moon and stars!

The Capitalists, realizing the great power of organized labor, will be willing, with but little argument, to make concessions to the workers, granting laws that will, in a great sense, protect the lives and limbs of the workers.

See what the workers last year were powerful enough to wrest from the powers of organized greed:

Many states passed new or more stringent laws as regards accidents on railways, in mines and in the factories, as well as by lead poisoning, etc.

The most important demands of the child labor laws were for shorter hours, higher minimum age and prohibition of night work.

Twenty-two states have enacted laws providing compensation for the workers. During the last three years in the states of Massachusetts and Michigan the law is liberally extended to those falling victims to occupational diseases.

Texas has now joined the 24 states which have fixed the working day for their employes at eight hours per day. The factory maximum working time has been fixed at ten hours per day in Oregon.

Immigration legislation has come to a deadlock, especially on the Pacific Coast where, however, the opening of the Panama Canal has brought this question again to the fore. Whilst California, Oregon and Washington united in their demands to the government to exclude all Asiatics, California appointed a commission to deal with the legal and industrial protection of all immigrants.

Three states established unemployment bureaus, while five states went into the question of the irregularities existing in private bureaus.

The trial minimum wage law for women and children in Massachusetts of 1912 has been copied by eight states. The eight-hour day for women was introduced in Arizona and Colorado.

ONE YEAR OF WILSON

By CHESTER M. WRIGHT

NOT in the memory of the younger generation has there been a president of the nation whose first year's record was of such general and deep-seated interest to so many people. Perhaps this is because we, as a people, are just beginning to formulate a real national thought along constructively radical lines. Whatever the cause, it is a fact that there is today going on over the land a vigorous discussion relative to the work of President Wilson during his first year in the White House.

President Wilson has done a number of things that other presidents have not done. For having created a portfolio of labor, naming William B. Wilson, long-time trade unionist, as its chief, let us withhold no measure of credit, even though the concrete results of this departure may not be apparent at the moment. The working class can have no criticism to offer as to the President's policy of watchful waiting in the case of Mexico. We cannot but wonder what Roosevelt would have blundered into ere this, were he the White House occupant. However, as to the hope of the President for a solution of the Mexican imbroglio in the overthrow of Huerta by some such personage as Carranza, the critics may be pardoned for suspicion. If President Wilson really understands the agrarian basis for the Mexican situation he has succeeded admirably in keeping his understanding from the public—and no one who does not understand the basis of Mexico's woes can ever know what the solution will be. But for the "hands off" policy so far pursued, labor may be honestly thankful. If labor were as well served in every case labor's lot would be easier. That is not to mention the doubt that labor ever entered the President's mind in connection with Mexico.

Aside from Mexico there are the tariff, anti-trust and currency measures upon which public attention has been closely fastened. Chief of all the Wilson measures, labor is interested in these. First of all, the tariff. For it the greatest promises were made; it was first through the legislative gantlet and first under the palpitating presidential pen, an alliteration for which pardon is humbly begged. If prices were found tumbling down as the result of the tariff bill we should undoubtedly find the reactionary press howling in great pain and predicting the downfall of our institutions of business. But there is no such howling. In Leslie's Weekly, one of the organs of back-tracking, we find this illuminating paragraph:

"The pledge of the Democratic party and the promise of the President himself and all of his associates, on the stump, that the reduction of the tariff would lower the cost of living, will not be realized. Six months have elapsed since the revision of the tariff, but can anyone point to a single necessity in common use which is selling at a lower price today than it was six months ago?"

Every consumer in the land must answer in the negative. Leslie's goes on to point out that, while the price of one or two articles of import has been reduced to the large dealer, in no case has the reduction in cost reached the ultimate consumer, all of which is an eloquent tribute to the solidarity of business and the failure of tariff tinkering to benefit the common people in the face of monopolistic capitalism.

So, while we may acknowledge that the President and his Congress did the only thing they could do with the tariff, as Democrats, what they have done was merely by way of finding something to busy their hands with, without advancing the cause of the common people to any degree. As an accomplishment for the working class, we may set tariff revision down at zero.

As to the banking act and the currency juggling, there has not been time to determine just what will happen. But we may rest assured, in the conclusion, that if business interests could gather to themselves all of the fruits of the Democratic tariff revision they will be no less sure in their harvest of whatever fruits banking and currency legislation may bear. For the working class, nothing but more ciphers.

Nor is the working class to fare any better as the result of the administration's anti-trust program. The Wilson attitude toward big business is largely the attitude of little business. It is in no sense the attitude of intelligent labor. The Wilson program contemplates the elimination of interlocking directorates, we are told. It contemplates a return to something approximating competition. And if those things mean anything at all they mean going back into what we have come out of. Just as we thought we were about to take a new step forward we find our national life commanded to retrace.

One of the President's principal measures for the control of business is the bill to validate railroad securities through the Interstate Commerce Commission, a piece of sheer bunco legislation, intended to bolster business and to foster the waning public confidence in the theory that railroads and water will mix. The President's attitude toward the railroads has been shown in a number of ways, and it is not an attitude that is calculated to satisfy those wild-visioned persons

who honestly expected something progressive from President Wilson. The railroads have before the Interstate Commerce Commission a plea for a 5 per cent increase in freight rates. President Wilson is known to favor this increase, and, according to Pearson's Magazine, was at one time on the point of summoning the commisisoners before him that he might instruct them to hurry and give the roads what they wanted. He was dissuaded, however, by certain senators who saw what such a move would do to the political fences in the back-home districts.

Nor is that all the dignified, scholarly President has tried to do for the starving, suffering railroads. He sent to the Senate the name of one Daniels for membership on that commission, with orders that it be rushed through to confirmation. It was not rushed through, however, owing to the fact that Senators Cummins and LaFollette discovered that Daniels, as a member of the New Jersey (Wilson's own state) Public Utilities Commission, had rendered a decision to the effect that a public utility corporation was entitled to 8 per cent profit on all its tangible property, and an additional 8 per cent on an added 30 per cent to cover intangible values. Thus, are the newspaper stories of faithfulness to the public trust rudely done to death.

However, there seems little doubt that regulation of big business must fetter us for some time yet. As a nation we evidently will be forced to dart into every blind alley before we will consent to take the open road that lies directly before our eyes. We do not seem to care to do the thing which obviously we should do. The Wisconsin Idea and the California Conundrum will have to be inflicted upon the nation before we shall have had enough. So the President finds ample applause for his plans to steer a machine that somebody else owns and occupies. It must be noted that nowhere in the Wilson anti-trust program is there a single sentence that menaces the owners of the nation's resources—its means of production and distribution. The program is truly one of bourgeois reform—and as such foredoomed to abject failure. Still the working class is collecting ciphers where it was promised full market baskets and a "New Freedom."

There are some other points that protrude in the Wilson record. A drastic stock exchange bill, one that would have put the great New York stock exchange—purely a gambling institution—practically out of business, has failed utterly to gain the expected support of the President. Then, following previous radical utterances regarding corporate greed, the President is found pleading for greater fairness toward the railroads and business, and this actually done in his message to Congress on trusts. That, more than any other utterance, convinced big business that it had nothing to fear from Wilson. In the immigration bill the President made no objection to a clause which aimed directly at the political refugees from other nations—refugees who should be welcomed to our shores as the stuff of which our greatness is made, spirit of our spirit. America is no longer their asylum.

The complete omission of the slightest reference to labor in the President's last regular message aroused comment from all parts of the country. On the other hand, we find the administration sending commercial agents to extend American trade abroad, these agents working as a part of the Department of Commerce. In fact, the entire concern of the President appears to be one in which business strikes the dominant note—if not the only note. Labor is expected to derive its benefit from the administration's manipulation of the business system—a benefit that labor is finding very vague and related not at all to the problem of wages, hours of labor and working conditions.

There is excellent authority for the statement that there are today fifteen millions of idle men in the nation. If that figure makes the customary omission of the number of idle women it but makes the total larger. There is no reason to believe that this number is anything but larger than it was a year ago. We have in American today no more vital problem than that of the unemployed workers. And yet the Chief Executive of the nation—a man professing concern for labor and a desire to improve general conditions—has given no utterance bearing on this situation, and taken no action to alter it. That is the cipher that leads the silent column of nothing that labor has gained by the election of a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress. In our national life we still deal with institutions, leaving men to suffer as the prey of those institutions; leaving them to suffer and to die. Our national aspiration is still expressed by the letter "S" surmounted by two perpendicular and parallel lines.

These enumerations do not complete the Wilson record for the year. Among the remaining matters there is the Alaska railroad bill, evidently good, providing for a government-built railroad in Alaska. While this road may be leased, it is not expected that it will be. Should the President, in whose discretion it lies, decide for the leasing plan, he will have undone half the good made possible by the bill as it stands. There is the matter of extending more of Philippine control to Filipinos: there is the controversy which has raged hot and heavy concerning the overthrow of the civil service in the foreign service, and there is the situation regarding Japan. There is no need to review those matters here. Nor is labor vitally concerned with Mr. Bryan's chautauqua work. Better far that many more of our public officials had given more time to the lecture platform and less to the secret conclave with men bringing large checks books.

Also, there is the matter of woman suffrage. Here

is one of the largest blots on the Presidential record. It is fortunate for those who are watching the Presidential record closely that the President was forced to take his stand on the suffrage question at a time when he was about to make his pronouncement on the Panama Canal tolls question. It was to a large delegation of trade union women that the President firmly declined to take a stand for suffrage. The notable thing about that interview was the President's declaration that since his party platform did not demand suffrage, he could not make such a demand as the head of his party. He was explicit in placing the emphasis on his adherence to his platform. Yet, how ruthless was his assault on his party platform a few days later, when he read his canal tolls message to Congress. His party platform reads, "We favor the exemption from tolls of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the Panama Canal." The President's position, which he will without doubt force through Congress, is exactly oposite to the platform expression. He demands tolls from American ships exactly as from foreign ships.

Much is being said, pro and con, about this tolls situation. The papers that generally line up with the President declare that the treaty with England guarantees equality for all nations in the matter of tolls, and maintain that free tolls would belie our treaty assurances and constitute a breach of faith. Other newspapers claim that to levy toll on American coastwise shipping is to obey the wishes of the railroad interests, to which free tolls would be damaging. Lucien Saint, Washington correspondent of the Socialist Party Press Service, is among those who take that position. It is interesting, at least. But to many the most interesting feature is the ease with which the Presdent flings away one platform plank and the scrupulous care with which he places both feet solidly upon another with the declaration that he is solemnly bound by it—the one being a plank about business; the other being a plank about humanity.

And those are the high spots of a year's work, summed up. Legislation nearly always is either for business or for humanity nowadays. Real, fundamental, earnest, honest and rock-bottom legislation for humanity is not overly conspicuous in this record of one year of Wilson. It is admitted that Wilson is a good man, and that open corruption is repugnant to him. It is admitted that he is what we know today as a reformer. And, like all other reformers, he is proving by his actions that reform does not actually touch the welfare of humanity at any vital point. It may concern the middle class—the small business class—to a certain extent, for reform is a child of the middle class. But in every essential aspect reform leaves the capitalist system exactly as it found it—an exploiting machine for the aggrandizement of those at the top.

So it comes that we of the working class have gone through a whole year of the administration of the nation's leading reformer without having had a single, solitary thing happen to us—or for us. Business is reassured, Rockefeller still has enough money to keep a hired man, the food poisoners are still at work, and the young Mr. Morgan is still able to keep his electric runabout. As for Bill Smith—well, he'd better stick tight to his union and vote like hell for Socialism next time!

GERMANY'S "CHURCH STRIKE"

By EUNICE EVELYN BRIGHT

OUR brave German comrades are carrying on a vigorous fight against the alliance between the church and state in Germany. The latest battle cries in Germany are "Massenstreik," "Massenboycott" and "Massenaustritt," and the meaning of these cries is that labor terminology and labor tactics are beginning to invade the church.

Since 1906 the state churches have lost more than they have gained. In 1912 they lost 17,788 and during 1913 they probably lost more. The maximum number of losses was in 1908, when it amounted to 27,150.

The Social Democrats are not officially indorsing the new movement, but many Socialists are taking part in it. Dr. Karl Liebknecht, the son of the great Socialist pioneer, Wilhelm Liebknecht, has evinced a phenomenally energetic activity. In a recent meeting he declared: "I direct my blows against the stepmother—that is, the church; but they are intended for the stepfather—that is, the state." Meetings of the radical elements have been held by the dozen in Berlin, many at midnight, so that the waiters, coachmen and others who are not at leisure earlier in the evening, could attend.

The Chronik der Christlichen Welt, of Tubingen, which in recent numbers contains the fullest reports of this noteworthy propaganda, draws attention to the fact that the church has a good deal to learn from the movement and must be "up and doing" if she is to hold her present position. The Tubingen paper points particularly to the disheartening statistics of church attendance in Berlin and other great centers of population.

DEADWOOD

By Edgcumb Pinchon

You dull, unhallowed mass of stunted souls!
You terrible progeny of a million crawling years!
You bloodless, sightless, soulless Things!
You blight upon the Tree of Life!
You choking pall upon the spirit's energy!

Yet there is That in you which is not so;
The Living Flame is lurking in you—
Ready to make of you (despite your heritage)
—great souls, great gallant souls—
—the warriors of humanity!

Despite your heritage—I say, but not despite yourselves.
The Dawn's at hand! Come make your choice!
See here a Hell deeper than reverend pagan's naive imaginings can paint you!
See here a Death—the crawling corpse is fair beside it!
This living Hell is you—unbrotherly!
This living Death is you—unsavory!
Yes!—you—who rot in life,
—who never caught the vision of a choiring earth,
—who never quivered with a thrill of fellowship,
—who never strove to right the mighty Wrong of Inequality,
Who bow to Baal, who chant Success, and never in the great loathsome paunch of plutocrat divined—
The scrawny bodies of a hundred starveling babes.

Awake! Awake! Awake!
The fast-rotting carrion of your dead selves cries out for burial!
To wake is painful? Yea, the birth of soul is more terrible, more splendid than birth of babe!
But better die like medieval monk beneath unpitying self-flagellations:
Better to die—brute food for cannon in a huckster's war:
Better never to have known the womb
Than live ignobly—
Live like you.

The Psychology of the Mob

By EMANUEL JULIUS

HENRY L. MENCKEN aimed to give The Atlantic Monthly readers an article on "Newspaper Morals," and missed his mark—in a sense. In its place, he did something really worthwhile, for through his entire paper in the March issue, this compelling Baltimore newspaperman (and book critic for The Smutty Set) gives a keen study of the psychology of the crowd—particularly the American mob. As a newspaperman, Mr. Mencken has had countless opportunities to watch "the molders of public opinion" at work. The tricks—nothing more than tricks—to befuddle the mass mind, to excite the emotions and passions of the people, are exposed in an unmerciful manner.

Throughout his article, Mr. Mencken appears to be giggling and smirking over the clever stunts he has learned; he seems proud of his ability to make the people think as he (or rather, his masters) would have them think.

Aspiring to become a dramatic critic, Mr. Mencken asked an "oldtimer" to tell him "what qualities were chiefly demanded by the craft," and this is what the ancient scribbler told him:

"Knock somebody in the head every day—if not an actor, then the author, and if not the author, then the manager. And if the play and the performance are perfect, then excoriate someone who doesn't think so—a fellow critic, a rival manager, the unappreciative public. But make it hearty; make it hot! The public would rather be the butt itself than have no butt in the ring. That is Rule No. 1 of American psychology—and of English, too, but more especially of American. You must give a good show to get a crowd, and a good show means one with slaughter in it."

Mr. Mencken adds hastily that he "fell into a long succession of less æsthetic newspaper berths, * * * but always the advice of my ancient counselor kept turning over and over in my memory * * * and whenever I acted upon it I found that it worked."

In order to catch and inflame the people, Mr. Mencken observes, "all argument for principle" must be translated into "rage against a man." The writer continues: "In brief, he (the newspaper editor) knows that it is hard for the plain people to **think** about a thing, but easy for them to **feel**."

Let us imagine a "peepul's paper"—one of those organs that appear willing, always, to further the common interests. Yes; one so radical and progressive as to demand that the city council pass an ordinance to do away with "unsightly billboards;" all for the sake of "the city beautiful," you know. Of course, the real reason is that when billboards are eliminated, newspapers obtain a greater volume of advertising—but that is a horse of another color. The City Beautiful—that is the goal. It is ever the aim of the sagacious journalist to foster "a sense of personal participation," Mr. Mencken says. "The wars that he wages are always described as the people's wars, and he himself affects to be no more than their strategist and claque. When the victory has once been gained, true enough, he may take all the credit without a blush; but while the fight is going on he always pretends that every honest yeoman is enlisted, and he is even eager to make it appear that the yeomanry began it on their own motion, and out of the excess of their natural virtue."

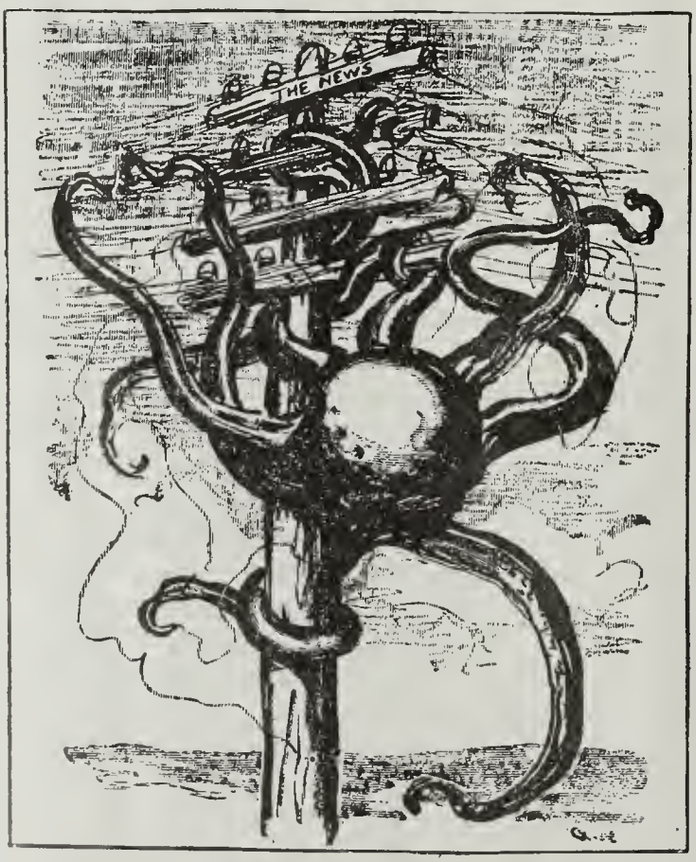
Mr. Mencken frankly confesses that capitalist newspapers always appeal to ignorance and superstition; in other words, to the "unreflective majority" instead of the "reflective minority." He says: The truth is that it would usually get a newspaper nowhere to address its exhortations to the latter, for in the first place they are too few in number to make their support of much value in general engagements, and in the second place it is almost always impossible to convert them into disciplined and useful soldiers. They are too cantankerous for that, too ready with embarrassing strategy of their own. One of the principal marks of an educated man, indeed, is the fact that he does **not** take his opinions from newspapers—not, at any rate, from the militant, crusading newspapers. On the contrary, his attitude toward them is almost always one of frank cynicism, with indifference as its mildest form and contempt as its commonest. He knows that they are constantly falling into false reasoning about the things within his personal knowledge—that is, within the narrow circle of his special education—and so he assumes that they make the same, or even worse errors about other things, whether intelectual or moral. This assumption, it may be said at once, is quite justified by the facts.

Speaking of the "unreflective majority," in his easy, candid manner, the writer tells how to hypnotize the masses. "His (the average person's) daily acts are ordered, not by any complex process of reasoning, but by a continuous process of very elemental feeling. He is not at all responsive to purely intelectual argument, even when its theme is his own ultimate benefit, for such argument quickly gets beyond his immediate interest and experience. But he **is** very responsive to emotional suggestion, particularly when it is crudely and violently made, and it is to this weakness that the

newspapers must ever address their endeavors. In brief, they must try to arouse his horror, or indignation, or pity, or simply his lust for slaughter. Once they have done that, they have him safely by the nose. He will follow blindly until his emotion wears out. He will be ready to believe anything, however absurd, so long as he is in his state of psychic tumescence."

This is plain talk about the plain people, and exposes the tricks of the mob-masters in a manner that should rouse the ire of those respectable gentlemen. The writer tells us that newspapers never swoop down on a man and try to smash his position with one blow. They work slowly, but steadily. The editors know it is just "a slow accumulation of pin-pricks, each apparently harmless in itself, that finally draws blood; it is by just such a leisurely and insidious process that the presumption of innocence is destroyed, and a hospitality to suspicion created. The campaign against Governor Sulzer in New York offers a classic example of this process in operation, with very skillful gentlemen, journalistic and political, in control of it. The charges on which Governor Sulzer was finally brought to impeachment were not launched at him out of a clear sky, nor while the primary presumption in his favor remained unshaken. Not at all. They were launched at a carefully selected and critical moment—at the end, to wit, of a long and well-managed series of minor attacks. The fortress of his popularity was bombarded a long while before it was assaulted. He was pursued with insinuations and innuendoes; various persons, more or less dubious, were led to make various charges, more or less vague, against him; the managers of the campaign sought to poison the plain people with doubts, misunderstandings, suspicions. This effort, so diligently made, was highly successful; and so the capital charges, when they were brought forward at last, had the effect of confirmations, of corroborations, of proofs. But, if Tammany had made them during the first few months of Governor Sulzer's term, while all doubts were yet in his favor, it would have got only scornful laughter for its pains. The ground had to be prepared; the public mind had to be put into training."

Our masters have turned the task of misleading the people into an exact science. Yes, even an art. Getting you to believe black is white is as measured and mechanical a proposition as supplying their automobiles with gasoline. They know how—and they boast about it. And to this black art, Mr. Mencken gives the name of "Newspaper Morals." Morals! Ye Gods! What irony! Newspaper editors have ousted the priests—and they have given us a more dangerous mental chain. One man, at a desk, can poison an entire community!



Why the Public Mind is Poisoned

BOOKS and READING

By EMANUEL JULIUS

Anthony Comstock

For over forty years, Anthony Comstock has been fighting for the "suppression of vice," causing a great deal of alarm among artists, writers and publishers with his raids on the book shelves. The clamor makes one believe that Anthony has done much damage in his forty years of meddling. And now, in a book on Anthony Comstock, by Charles Gallaudet Trumbull, we learn that in his years of work to "suppress vice" Comstock has succeeded in "destroying nearly fifty tons of bad books." What's that? Just one little freight car could hold the whole outfit captured by this loud, but resultless, meddler. Anthony is at the end of his activities, and he has shown, for all time, that you can't suppress anything. Fifty tons! In forty years! And all this howling against Anthony! Shucks! Let him suppress for ten thousand years! What difference will it make? Anthony is a failure; his biographer proves it. He couldn't B. V. D. Art! His nonsextarian religion has gone kerplunk!

* * *

Charges Are Dismissed

Max Eastman and Art Young, Socialists, were arrested some time ago, charged with libeling the Associated Press. Now comes the report that the charges are dismissed. Is it possible that the New York District Attorney concluded that it would be impossible to libel the news agent of big business? To merely attack the Associated Press for its misrepresentations of labor struggles could never do much material good. The thing remaining to be done is simply this: The Socialists, the labor unionists and all other fighters for better living conditions must build up their own news service, so that the public will know the truth. Also, we must build a powerful press. Then, instead of being arrested for libeling the Associated Press, we will put it out of business.

* * *

Through Hindu Eyes

Rudyard Kipling is discussed by A. R. Sarath-Roy in the February North American Review. Sarath-Roy is a Hindu, who handles Kipling without gloves. "Kipling is **NOT** an authority on India, or things Indian," he says. "He is only a writer of the life of foreigners in India—not of Indian life." He continues:

"In describing the native, Kipling evidences all the virus and prejudices of his countrymen. He considers the Bengalee a coward, because that vegetarian gentleman is peace-loving and anxious to avoid "trouble," as Mulvaney puts it. Centuries of Hindu philosophy, of Hindu religion, and Hindu civilization have cast his mind into the mold of Peace. Also his food and the hot climate are not conducive to give his physical and mental propensities a bent toward aggressiveness and fighting. The Bengalee may not possess a spontaneous physical courage, but he commands a mental or moral courage that can enforce a physical courage, as late developments have proved. This mental courage does not make him less a man or a person unworthy of respect. This Kipling overlooks. Nor is his ridicule original. Englishmen for many years have been making fun of the courage of the Bengalee, and Kipling just swims with the current."

* * *

The Party Builder

Begun less than two years ago, The Party Builder now has a circulation of almost 20,000. Persons who understand the newspaper business appreciate the fact that this is a remarkable showing. The Party Builder (published by the Socialist Party, National Office, Chicago) is a weekly paper for Socialist Party men and women. It is interested more in organization than propaganda. It doesn't spend much time discussing abstract Socialism; it prefers to make the Socialist movement more powerful and efficient. Walter Lanfersiek, editor of The Party Builder, succeeds in giving the organized Socialists of America a quick exposition of what is doing in the Socialist ranks, and what remains to be done. It is, primarily, a paper for Socialists.

* * *

Socialist Editors and Libel

Hardly a day passes without learning of a Socialist editor arrested (and usually convicted) of libel. In many cases, to be sure, the comrades are persecuted; but, careful examination of hundreds of exchanges every week, leads me to the conclusion that the real wonder is that more Socialist editors are not arrested and convicted.

Many of our small Socialist periodicals are edited by well-meaning comrades, who think they are not

serving the cause unless they call somebody a liar, a thief and a grafter. Often, these charges are based on nothing but the statement of another person.

Instead of striving to brand every opponent as a horse thief and a briber, it would be well for Socialist editors to be a little more careful in their statements, and not be afraid to do some investigating. At any rate, Socialism doesn't gain much when we aim merely to give opponents the task of proving themselves honest (and sending Socialists into capitalist courts). By a patient and persistent exposition of the principles of Socialism, rather than exposing the shortcomings of personalities, our cause makes, with inevitable certainty, great forward strides.

THINGS AS THEY STAND

A SENSE of reaction has come over the labor movement of America. This, it must be admitted, is only a reflection of the mental attitude of the entire American people. The people, while in great need, do not seem to want anything—at least, they do not appear anxious to get anything. A hungry man who would reject food and prefer, in its stead, baseball and ragtime, would be considered a strange sort of lunatic. And yet this seems to be the attitude of our people just now. They have nothing—not even half-decent jobs—and they don't want anything.

While the unions of San Francisco voted almost solidly to endorse Hiram W. Johnson's administration, while these unionists were deciding to advise the working people to vote for Johnson at the coming election, that clever, slippery politician was at a Sacramento hotel directing the state's henchmen in their raids upon the unemployed. Strange! After having Johnson batter at labor's head, the organized workers present their craniums for another blow!

This is but an instance of a reactionary humor that has taken hold of the American people. They are relaxing their hold, permitting the minions of Capital to crush down those who have a semblance of fight in their starved bodies. Who seems to care about Ford and Suhr, convicted outrageously at Marysville? A handful! The American people don't seem to care. Let Suhr and Ford spend their lives in prison cells, what matters it? The important question just now is: who is going to pitch for the Giants this summer?

Governor Johnson has it in his power to pardon Suhr and Ford. How can a sane person expect him to order their release when the organized workers do not seem interested enough to make known their indignation over this travesty on justice? Governor Johnson has the endorsement of the San Francisco unionists; why should he bother his head? The unionists in Los Angeles, it appears, will follow the lead of organized labor in San Francisco.

Throughout the country the people seem to have been lulled to sleep. President Wilson, by far the shrewdest president this country ever had, has hypnotized the workers. Having told them that the government will **NOT** fight Big Business, they appear convinced that prosperity must, as a natural result, prevail. Strange logic!

Not long ago the police of Los Angeles deliberately precipitated a riot at the Plaza, battered hundreds of heads, killed a Mexican and arrested scores. Did anyone protest? Another handful! A capitalistic judge stepped in and sent about fifteen men to prison for terms, in the main, of two years. The men are in prison. Nobody seems to care, except a handful. The masses are sleeping soundly. And, from appearances, they are having pleasant dreams!

And this unfortunate lethargy is giving the Socialist press a severe blow. Weeklies and monthlies are suspending. The labor press that has the courage of its principles is in a precarious state. And, as it appears as though baseball will be extremely popular this summer, it will be interesting to watch developments.

Austin Harrison, editor of the most thorough magazine in the world, The English Review, comments on the British mind, and, judging from facts facing us, his criticisms apply with complete force to the American people. He calls it "the Ragtime attitude," which, in his opinion, "reflects the spirit of amateurishness which is the keynote of the day. Everything is a Rag. The serious man or book is a 'nuisance.' The fact is we are not really in earnest. It is not good form to be in earnest. It is not even the tradition. * * * An enormous working-class population which does not maintain and read its own Press is not likely to band itself together, like the women, and die for a principle. * * * What remains is the foundation of a Socialist Press. And that is an innovation which, if it does not lead to revolution, may yet lead to reform which may be revolutionary enough in its manifestations."—E. J.

Socialism and the Land Question

By DR. J. E. POTTENGER, Monrovia, California

THE Socialist movement has been and still is in the formative stage, educating the working man to see that if he would better his condition he must associate with his fellows, politically and industrially. Had we in years past dealt with reforms to the exclusion of work which has been done, we would have no movement today. However, we are now at the threshold of political success, and it is necessary for us to indicate what we shall do when power is given us. Moreover, with the Initiative in our hands in this state, we can accomplish something even though we fail to obtain political control. I assume, then, that the Socialist Party of California must necessarily maintain a list of Immediate Demands.

What then is the most important Immediate Demand? Let us turn to our Communist Manifesto (page 45, Charles H. Kerr edition), where we find: "Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes." It is evident that Karl Marx considered the land question of such importance that it should be placed at the head of the list. Marx did not offer a plan to carry out his proposition, and, so far as I know, no Socialist since his time has filled the need.

Marx recognized land as a social value. Henry George, writing twenty years later, apparently unfamiliar with Marx' writings, took the same position. He went further and developed a tax plan which he claimed would solve the question. His plan was the Single Tax—the taxation of lands at their full value and the appropriation of all increase of value by the state. Now, since this is the only remedy offered for the solution of the land question, and since it has a great many advocates, it is urgent that Socialists become familiar with the method, for we may find that we can use it in some degree to accomplish what we desire.

Indifferent to Taxation

Should one inquire of the average Socialist his view of taxation and reforms in methods of taxation, one or more of the following or similar answers will be given:

"I have little interest in the subject, for it matters not who pays taxes or upon what they are based, the working class pays all taxes ultimately."

"Socialists have no business meddling with the subject; we had better hew to the line and not bother with reforms."

"The Single Tax is a scheme for the conservation of the interests of the small capitalist in his struggle with the large capitalist."

If one questions the comrade sharply regarding the Single Tax, he will likely admit that he has not studied the question.

Socialists on the Land Question

A. M. Simons (American Farmer) deals only with the changing tenure of land, the tendency to tenantry, the altered processes of production, and the tendency to division of labor and larger production. He welcomes the proletarianization of the original owner as a boon to the political movement of the working class. He offers no plan to destroy land privilege.

Karl Kautsky (Die Agerfrage) fails likewise in a practical plan.

Arthur Morrow Lewis (Ten Blind Leaders of the Blind), in his chapter on Henry George, contents himself with ridicule of George and his system, but fails to give us what we need most—a practical land program.

Victor L. Berger (How to Reach the Farmer, Chicago Daily Socialist, May 20, 1910) said: "The greatest Socialist minds have spent years on this questions. Kautsky wrote a book of 500 pages, and it is the poorest book he has written. He came to no conclusion. The greatest trouble is that Marx fell down on the question of agriculture. We have to admit it."

Importance of the Problem

An illustration which differs only in degree from what may be found elsewhere may be given. Forty years ago the whole of Los Angeles County was worth less than twenty million dollars. Today the market value of the land is at least one billion dollars, every dollar of which was produced by labor during that time. The present owners are permitted to reap a harvest from rent, say of 10 per cent annually, which means that the 150,000 workers in the county must pay $100,000,000 as rent, or nearly $700 per capita in increased cost of living and low wages. From what other single cause does the worker lose so much?

Shifting of Taxes in General

Perhaps the well-known ability of the strong and powerful to shift taxes to the consumer or laborer, in the form of low wages, accounts for much of our indifference to the subject of taxation. The income tax, which might be confiscatory under certain conditions, will not be so under existing conditions. All business men powerful enough to do so, will add it to their expenses and shift it to the consumer or laborer. There is no escape. Consider the recent ridiculous act of

the German Social Democracy in voting for the war budget, wth the justification, "If the rich insist on preparation for war, let them pay for it. The cost will be defrayed by taxes on their incomes." This blunder has done untold damage to anti-military propaganda, and the taxes will be shifted to the working class as before. On the other hand, we will find that under a land value taxation plan, taxes cannot be shifted at all, or to only an insignificant degree.

Need of Definite Land Program

After we study the question for some time I am sure that we will insist on the California State Program Committee inserting as Immediate Demand No. 1, a drastic land value tax measure which will restore the land values, social in origin, to those who produce them, and abolish speculation forever.

* * *

Editor's Note—In forthcoming articles Dr. J. E. Pottenger will show how land value taxation may be used by Socialists to accomplish, in quite a measure, what they are after. Also, he will give succinct analyses of Henry George's social and economic philosophy from the viewpoint of a Socialist.

Next—An Eight-Hour Law!

(Continued from page 10)

p. m.?" "And the proposed law does not permit the servant to work more than six days in the week!"

Statistics show that only eighteen per cent of the people in the United States keep domestic servants. The people who are most interested in the passage of this law are not contemplating the keeping of servants, and as for the eighteen per cent, it will do madame good to prepare a meal once in a while, and to wait on her own family for one day in the week. Every woman who has ever done any housework knows that it is hard work, and will rejoiee that, at last, the house servant is not to be at the beck and call of an employer for an unlimited period each day.

All the arguments against an eight-hour day resolve themselves into this one—it will encroach upon profits! And all the arguments in its favor converge finally into this—to the great majority of the common people it will bring more abundant life.

First, by increasing the chances for employment. It has been asserted that a reduction in hours does not put more men to work. Certain political economists have, "with mathematical precision" (?) figured that the output under the reduced hours must equal the output before the hours were reduced, without increasing the working force—else the price of the product would be raised. This, of course, would be equivalent to a reduction in wages, and would mean that less of the product would be consumed and fewer men required for its production. This argument might be offered where the reduction in hours affected one or two industries only, but where every kind of labor in the state is to be so affected, it cannot be denied that more men will be required to perform the work that is now being done. That is why an eight-hour law affecting all classes of labor is more beneficial than an eight-hour day maintained by the organized strength of the workers in certain industries only.

"Then it will increase the cost of all commodities and services!" Undoubtedly. The Socialist Party, in putting forth an eight-hour bill, does not claim that it will solve the economic problem—on the contrary, we most emphatically assert that so long as profits must remain stable, no single piece of legislation can bring to the workers any advantage, without at the same time revealing the incompleteness of any program which does not strike at the roots of capitalism—profits! But, we say: "Better that the cost of living should go up, than the standard of living should go down!"

The ultimate effect of a universal eight-hour day on the employment situation cannot be computed as a simple mathematical problem. It will lessen unemployment to an ever increasing degree because it not only gives opportunity for increased efficiency and intelligence on the part of the worker, but it absolutely demands these things on his part. It inevitably develops a class of workers able to cope with the problem of unemployment, the cost of living and the whole problem of profits.

"It permits of no overtime for the worker, though," says the capitalist. Did you ever notice, comrade, that when the masters appeal to Labor, they always address themselves to the scab spirit? And when that spirit is permitted to govern, it is the undoing of Labor in the end.

The establishment of the eight-hour work day is not alone of substantial material benefit. It contains possibilities for still further advance. It will give the worker the one thing necessary for self-emancipation—LEISURE. Leisure is opportunity. Opportunity is the gateway to new worlds of thought and action.

Enforced idleness is not leisure. Idleness will impoverish, degrade and dwarf. Leisure will enrich and elevate character.

Workers of California: We summon you to this great eause! The age-long struggle is nearing an end! Capitalistic desperation presages success. In this conflict let us abolish all imaginary lines, and remember only that we are of the working class. Let the ballots of the workers give answer to the bullets of Wheatland, San Diego and Sacramento!

—The California Outlook.

OTIS—THE PLEISTOCENE MAN!

The two pairs of feet indicate that the club has been in use, says the editor of The California Outlook. Those in the left-hand corner belong to a gentleman engaged in skin-hunting for the General. He was rash enough to unite with others of his craft in asking a salary increase of three clam-shells per week. He has had his answer; for the General has just delivered a very striking lecture on industrial freedom.

A Great Octopus Dies

ONE tentacle of the Great Greed has slipped its cable and slid into the deep blue sea—or into whatever it is that tentacles slide when they die. This having reference, of course, to the demise of the United States Express Company, which has just decided to close its books and quit gouging the public, for the good and sufficient reason that the gouging business is very poor, now that the parcel post is in the field.

But here is a great historical event, and after all little ado is being made over it. For years we have heard reactionary orators dilate upon the horrors of confiscation. We have heard Republicans and Democrats warn the nation against this terrible thing; we have actually seen them shudder at the thought that we as a nation should ever confiscate wealth! And now come we to the point where wealth **IS** confiscated by an institution brought into being by Republicans and Democrats, though the IDEA may not have originated with them, since Republicans and Democrats are not popularly supposed to originate ideas.

The United States Express Company is going out of business because the parcel post system went into business. And, while the parcel post is limited in its field of operation, it has demonstrated that here, as in the postal field, it is superior to privately owned service—and, what is more important to the express companies, cheaper.

Essentially this operation—this killing of the express company's business—is confiscation. "We, the people," have made worthless the business of this company; we have deprived it of the chance to make profits. We have confiscated its business as truly as though we had passed a law directly forbidding it to transport express.

And nobody over the whole broad land cares a rap. When you come right face against this confiscation business it loses many of its terrors. Even the kept press is shedding no tears, sees no reign of anarchy, predicts no disaster to our cherished institutions and sees no decline of patriotism.

Of course, nobody maintains that this defines the Socialist position as to confiscation in any way. It is merely by way of ponting out that it is useless to say what methods we shall find best suited to future needs; it is useless to say that we favor this or that way of doing something to be done a dozen years from now; it is by way of saying that when we come to our bridges we shall find the best way of crossing, and we shall not always be bound by a lot of traditionary buncombe that has cluttered up the past.

And it may be that, as in the case of the United States Express Company, we shall cross a lot of bridges without even having known that we were anywhere near a bridge.—C. M. W.

TREATED HER ROYALLY

Whenever a "New One" appears with his first published novel or story—sometimes the book pays expenses—we wouldbe's all gather around him and ask "how'd ye do it?" And the answer is the usual answer. He tells us how he wrote it, and how he sold it, and how he did this and that. All of which is interesting. And now comes May Edington, one of the latest to join the Major League, who tells how she "was never denied aecess to editorial sanctums." She adds that she was never turned away, much to her surprise. Of course, it is neeessary to state the fact that her husband is an editor.

Read what The National Socialist says about this publication: "The Western Comrade is a monthly magazine that should be in the home of every Socialist and sympathizer in America. This publication is a joy to the eye and contains matter that places the magazine in a class of its own. The best writers and artists contribute to The Western Comrade."

The Appeal to Reason says the following about The Western Comrade: "A Socialist magazine, known as The Western Comrade and published at Los Angeles, is meeting wide favor. Emanuel Julius is the editor, which in itself is guarantee of merit in the publication. It has western tang and vim, and is very readable."

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The Western Comrade is going after every Socialist and near Socialist in the West. We want one dollar from each and for that dollar we will send twelve issues of the livest, snappiest, happiest, most constructive, best edited Socialist magazine on the map. We want YOU to be the one to get those dollars in YOUR town. You've no idea how easy it is. Ten a day is the easiest thing in the world for a live one to get. And, believe us, ten a day will get you the best eats you've had in many a long moon.

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Get our proposition for this work. It'll hold you safe for the summer and as long after that as you care to keep on the job... We are making a LIBERAL proposition to ONE man or woman in every town because we want this magazine to go into every Socialist and near Socialist home in the West. We want to ginger up things for Socialism. Don't put this off; WRITE TODAY, enclosing reference from your local Socialist Secretary. None but good, steady, reliable folks on this job. It's a good job for good, reliable hustlers who can make good. If you're that kind, get your letter in the mail quick!

The Western Comrade, P. O. Box 135, Los Angeles

EXPLAINED

"Atkins," said the sergeant, angrily, "why haven't you shaved this morning"

"Ain't I shaved?" asked Atkins, in apparent surprise.

"No, you're not," insisted the sergeant; "and I want to know why."

"Well, you see, sergeant," replied the soldier, "there was a dozen of us using the same mirror, and I must have shaved some other man."

A SARTORIAL RETORT

In a recent debate on Socialism at one of the Chautauquas in Ohio, the Honorable J. Adam Bede, commenting on the discussion of his opponent, the Honorable Emil Seidel, said:

"He has told you many things, but nothing to the point. His arguments are like the Mother Hubbard dress: they cover everything, but touch nothing."

In his rebuttal Seidel declared: "Mr. Bede has adroitly avoided the issue and explained nothing. His arguments are very much like the present close-fitting, diaphanous dress: they touch everything and cover nothing."

GENUINE PITY

Excited Small Boy—Hey, Mr. Tanks, there's a burglar crawlin' up your front steps this very minute!

Mr. Tanks—Poor devil, the missus'll think it's me.

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(Signed) EMANUEL JULIUS.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of March, 1914.

CHAIM SHAPIRO,

Notary Public in and for the County of Los Angeles, State of California.

My commission expired April 2, 1917.

(Seal)

The International Socialist Review

JUST OUT FOR APRIL

CONTENTS

Labor's Battle in South Africa. Written especially for the Review by one of our South African comrades. All cable reports were censored and this is the first authoritative account of the great struggle. Tells of the splendid solidarity shown by the black and white workers and how the capitalists abolished all government.

The Menace in Government Ownership. By a mail carrier who is not afraid to write about the slave conditions under which the government employes work. (Be sure that your carrier reads this article.)

The Partnership Between China and the Standard Oil Company. By Mary E. Marcy. Points out the rapid development of capitalism and that the prospects for a mighty army of Socialism in China are growing better every day.

Other articles which you will want to read are:

Business and Patriotism in Japan.—S. Katayama.

Glimpses of Formosa.—M. Wright.

In the Army.—A Soldier.

The Socialist Party and the Schools.—F. Bohn.

The Catholic Church and the Unemployed.

Catherine Breshkovsky.—E. Roubanovitch.

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Vol. 2 May, 1914 No. 1

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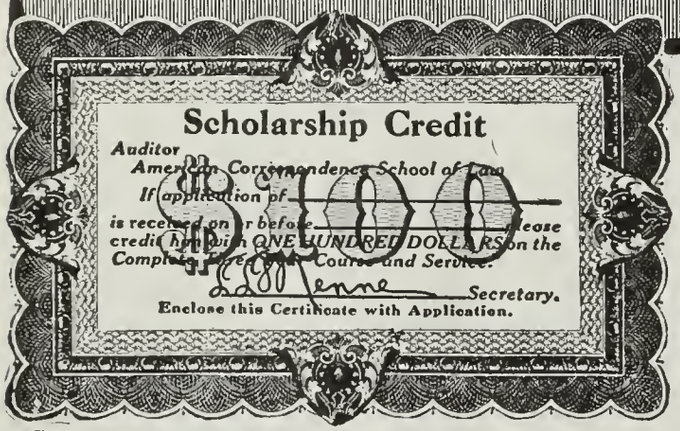

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